

## WATCHFUL WAITING BLAMED FOR ANARCHY IN MEXICO

Official Records,  
Just Made Public,  
Show Wilson's  
Coming Into Of-  
fice Killed Chance  
for Law and Order  
Carefully Pre-  
pared in Presi-  
dent Taft's Time

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By SAMUEL CROWTHER.

Part III.—The Smashing of All Organized Government in Mexico by President Wilson.

The despatches and telegrams quoted in the following article are paraphrased from the secret code of the State Department and for reasons of space are abbreviated in parts unessential to the narrative.

THE chapter of the diplomatic history of the Wilson Administration's relations with Mexico which is printed in THE SUN to-day is of vital importance and sensational interest, giving as it does, unpublished documents which throw new light on President Wilson's Mexican policy and its grave consequences to the United States as well as to Mexico. The article is made up of the despatches, correspondence, memorandums and personal comments of Henry Lane Wilson, formerly Ambassador to Mexico.

The week preceding the inauguration of President Wilson was a vital one to Mexico—and to the United States. It has been vehemently asserted that President Taft merely marked time during the closing days of his term and that, with a sigh of relief, he dumped Mexico upon his successor.

The official record tells a different story. It shows that Mexico was under a strong and capable government and that disorder had practically ceased; it shows that the only reasons which prevented the immediate recognition of Huerta were those of expediency, that recognition was ready to be given the moment Huerta acceded to the settlement of the claims for American lives and property which had been lost during the anarchy of the Madero rule; it shows that a perfectly definite and very simple programme had been mapped out and that the only remaining question was whether Mexico or the United States would drive the better bargain.

Such was the diplomatic situation. In the United States other events were happening. These are best described in the words of Ambassador Wilson. They throw a peculiar light on affairs. He says:

"A large number of Mexicans who had fled their country when Huerta came into power gathered in the United States. Some months before the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pedro Lascurain, on behalf of Madero, had sounded out President-elect Wilson and had given him much interesting, but totally false, information on Mexican affairs.

"Finding that President Wilson and his immediate associates were most receptive to all tales which might be used to bolster up my policy opponents, and that which had been followed, the Mexicans gave them what they wanted. I have no personal knowledge of exactly what was told to the President-elect or to Bryan or to the other influential men of the Democratic party but I can easily imagine what would have been most acceptable and that which was told. That is the Mexican way.

"The expatriates were professedly Maderistas; they found that the ideal democracy conceived by Madero and others was splendid bait for American sentimentality. The men who had been plundering Mexico became overnight the most altruistic patriots. They found that all the Presidents of the United States who had been assassinated while in office were spoken of as martyrs; straightway Madero became a martyr and the fact that he had killed with his own hand was at once suppressed.

"Madero the martyr is now—or was in the oratorical stock of every Mexican who wants anything from the United States. Madero is not held as a martyr in Mexico; the idea would be too absurd there to be expressed except for purely foreign consumption. Mexican policies for Mexico and Mexican policies for the United States are very different matters, although they may be both uttered by the same individual. Carranza, Villa, Zapata and all the other bandits became Maderistas—once. Madero was dead. While Madero lived and represented anything approaching government they were against Madero—except for a price.

"The opponents of Huerta could not break his government in Mexico, but they had the chance to break his government in the United States. They found that, properly trained and instructed, the United States might be made a most powerful revolutionary agent. It was a cleverly conceived idea and it was just as cleverly executed. These men completely convinced President-elect Wilson that he could achieve wonderful popularity in Mexico as the apostle of democracy in Mexico and they founded the creed of the Wilson Administration, that a Mexican without proof is to be taken at his word and that an American with or without evidence is a liar."

The despatches of the week beginning February 26, 1913, after the conditions of Mexico and the outstanding differences between the Taft Administration and Gen. Huerta. This telegram to Secretary Knox is prophetic:

"February 26, 1913.  
"With reference to no particular departmental instruction, but for the consideration of the President and the Secretary of State, I have to submit the following:

"That during its entire existence the Madero Government was anti-American; that under its rule appeals were veiled threats; that its incomprehensible attitude; that it presented the

aspects of a despotism infinitely worse than that which existed under Gen. Diaz during the last six months of its (the Madero) existence; that although the Government resulted from an armed revolution and at certain critical stages events occurred the responsibility for which has not yet been definitely fixed and which must be deplored by the civilized opinion of the world, it nevertheless assumed office according to the usual constitutional precedents; and therefore it is, in my opinion, clothed with the form of a representative provisional government; that evidently the new administration is approved and accepted by Mexican public opinion, especially by the more respectable portion thereof; that the new Government is equally accepted and approved by the foreign elements in Mexico; that in its policy the Cabinet is united, active and moderate, acting in full concord with the President, with the army and with prevailing public opinion; that anti-American sentiment has almost entirely disappeared and that the new Government is showing decided pro-American proclivities; that there are excellent prospects for the settlement of all of our existing complaints against Mexico in a prompt and just way, and that in the event that the present Government cannot be maintained chaos must inevitably result and the necessity and demands for intervention could hardly be resisted.

"Being moved by these considerations, which I believe also to be entertained by my colleagues, I am endeavoring in all possible ways, frequently on my own responsibility, to assist the present Government to establish itself firmly and to procure the admission and submission of all elements in the republic. It is assumed that I have the approval of the Department of State and of the President in the course which I have adopted, and an expression to that effect will enable me to proceed with more confidence and greater vigor in a work which I believe to be in the interests of the peace of this continent in addition to being in the interests of our own Government. Wilson."

The desire of Secretary Knox to reconcile all factions and the ad interim official position of the United States with respect to Huerta are set forth in the following extracts from instructions of Mr. Knox to Ambassador Wilson:

"Relative to recognition of the policy of the President, which has already been made very clear to the embassy, does not seem to call for more specific instructions at present as to the course to be pursued unless it be to point out to the embassy that the mode of address and the exact form of correspondence, whether they be maintained as usual or whether the despatch officials be addressed by name with *hon. etc.*, added, are not in themselves especially material as long as the exact attitude of the Government of the United States and the formal recognition of the Government upon which it is dealing with the Mexican authorities is made clear to them.

"They are as follows: The United States is in de facto relations for the purpose of transacting all business with those in control who are the only authority in evidence. It is a question whether the recent resignations under duress and subsequent proceedings of the Mexican Congress sufficing under Mexican law to clothe the present Government with such a de jure status as that which was attached to the ad interim Government of De la Barra. This is a question which the Government of the United States is not now obliged to decide.

"A distinction may be drawn between de facto relations with a de facto Government and the formal recognition of such Government just as the same distinction may be drawn between de facto relations with and permanent Government. In either case formal recognition requires some formal act of recognition as, for example, the formal reply to a note announcing the new Government or the receiving of the accrediting of an Am-

bassador. At present any such formal act of recognition is to be avoided.

"In the meantime the question is being considered by this Government in the light of the usual tests which are applied to such cases, important among which are the question of the degree to which the Mexican people acquiesce in and assent to the new regime and the question of the disposition and ability to protect foreigners and their interests and to respond to all international obligations. At the present time the giving out by the Department of a public statement on this subject appears to be unnecessary."

The foregoing telegram officially disposes of the contention that Ambassador Wilson had recognized Huerta. Recognition of a sovereignty can be given only by a sovereign, and Secretary Knox defined the clear usage and legal attitude of his telegram.

Subsequently—after the inauguration of President Wilson—while Ambassador Wilson was in Washington, a telegram of unknown origin appeared in the American press, which purported to quote explanations from the British Foreign Office of its reasons for recognizing the Government of Huerta. Among other reasons, it assigned the "recognition" of Huerta by Ambassador Wilson in his speech as dean of the diplomatic corps. The Administration at Washington expressed great gratification to the press over this telegram as discrediting Ambassador Wilson.

Placed in a position where he was obliged to defend the correctness of his official acts, the Ambassador gave a statement to the press, in which he questioned the reliability of the telegram, calling attention to the circumstance that the brief address referred to had been written by the British and Spanish Ministers, and that it had to do solely with a de facto Government. Very foolishly the Administration seized upon this interview, and for the purpose of discrediting the Ambassador addressed an apology to the British Government and gave a public reprimand to the Ambassador. There was no offense in the statement given by the Ambassador, and the British Government afterward announced, according to the London Times, that it did not understand what the apology was for.

In Ambassador Wilson's despatches to Washington the celebrated reception of the diplomatic corps by Huerta is treated as follows:

"March 8, 7 P. M.  
"This morning, prior to the announced reception of the diplomatic corps by Mr. de la Barra, I consulted my German and British colleagues, and it was agreed, with the approval of the entire diplomatic corps, that at the conclusion of the reception I should

hand the following memorandum to Mr. de la Barra:

"Le corps diplomatique est entré en fait en communication avec le Gouvernement Mexicain tout en réservant à ses Gouvernements respectifs le privilège de reconnaître formellement le Gouvernement Provisoire au moment que cela leur semblera à propos."

"Translation: 'The diplomatic corps has entered into communication with the provisional Government without committing themselves in any way as regards formal recognition, which is left to their respective Governments to determine when such recognition shall be afforded.'

"This was done in order that there should be made no misinterpretation of our attitude toward this Government, and there were evidences that such was the case. It will be noted by the department that it is worded so as not to offend this Government's sensibilities. Between the diplomatic corps and Mr. de la Barra it is understood that this action was taken solely for our protection, and not to be made public.

"I was informed this morning by the Austrian, Brazilian, Norwegian and Chilean diplomatic representatives, formally, that in all matters of recognition of this Government their acts would be in accordance with the acts of this embassy. While the other Latin American representatives have not formally stated their concurrence, they do concur, as do the German and British Ministers, in this as in everything else."

"I am informed by the Spanish Minister that he intended to recommend to his Government the immediate formal recognition of the provisional Government, but he says that after learning the views of all of his colleagues he will await this embassy's action. However, he thinks this Government should be recognized immediately. My own views are that the moment this Government has clearly demonstrated its ability to maintain practical order and the Department of the Interior has stated their concurrence, they do concur, as do the German and British Ministers, in this as in everything else."

Secretary Knox sent his final telegram to Mexico city at midnight on March 3, 1913. In them he definitely sets forth the urgency of the American demands and the terms upon which recognition would be given. It has since been said by Secretary Knox that the United States would have accorded recognition to Huerta on the very morning of March 4, before the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson took place, had the demands for the damage to American lives and interests been met.

"The matter of recognition in the final stages," said Ambassador Wilson, "became a matter of bargain; the new

propositions advanced by Secretary de la Barra were only advanced because he had probably gained the notion that he might get a better bargain out of the Wilson Administration. He perhaps made the new suggestions to throw the whole question over into new hands.

"The only questions remaining open concerned the settlement of the American claims; it had been decided that the Huerta Government was able to enforce law and order and that it had the support of the people."

"On March 3 Huerta was in complete control of twenty-five out of the twenty-seven States of Mexico; the only rebel of any importance was Carranza, and he was practically without ammunition, and was being driven hard by the Federal forces; his capture was only a matter of days because his followers were rapidly slipping away from him and going over to the Government."

"The single question presented by President Taft to President Wilson concerned the details of the terms of settlement. The situation was very simple at midnight on March 3; the complexities all arose after the Wilson Administration came into power."

As soon as President Wilson came into the White House Ambassador Wilson wired his resignation. It is customary for all the diplomatic representatives of the United States to tender their resignations on the day that a new President takes office. On the next day he forwarded a full message showing the condition of Mexico.

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The Administration changed its mind about commending anything which had been done in Mexico and revoked the telegram in a message which gives the specious reason that it "had been signed without examination."

The despatch from Secretary Bryan was as follows:

"The Department's telegram No. 79 should be considered cancelled and the matter left open for the present, as the telegram was signed without examination."

Notwithstanding the rebuff contained in the foregoing telegram, Ambassador Wilson continued to press for the recognition of the Huerta Government because he feared the terrible disorder which would result in Mexico were recognition long delayed or were any intimation given that recognition might be refused. And then Bryan followed with the famous telegram in reply to the congratulations which President Wilson. This telegram addressed Huerta as "General" and not as "President" and gave great offence.

Indeed Secretary Bryan made a double stroke. The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor de la Barra, had sent him the following telegram of congratulation on his appointment as Secretary of State:

"I send to your Excellency my most cordial greeting, congratulating the American nation on its having one of its eminent citizens in the high office of Secretary of State. As Minister of Foreign Relations of Mexico I believe that your Excellency's administration will mean a resplendent culmination of the spirit of justice and American fraternity in its broadest sense. I hold therefore that the relations between our two countries will be characterized by elevated sentiments and that all questions pending between the two chancelleries will be brought to a satisfactory conclusion."

Instead of replying directly Mr. Bryan sent the following to Ambassador Wilson:

"You may informally and unofficially express to Mr. de la Barra my high appreciation of his courtesy in sending the above message and add that I harbor the hope not only that the relations between the two countries will continue to be of the most amicable and cordial character but that the early settlement of all questions outstanding will be so furthered by a friendly cooperation on the Mexican part that soon the two neighboring countries will have no matter of dispute whatsoever between them."

The results of Mr. Bryan's activity are shown in the following despatch from Ambassador Wilson:

"This morning Mr. de la Barra sent me and called my attention to the

fact that a telegram of congratulation had been addressed to President Wilson by the provisional President of Mexico and that the reply of President Wilson was addressed to the provisional President as Gen. Huerta, and was a simple acknowledgment of his telegram. Mr. de la Barra informed me at the same time that he had assurances that the British Government had been misled as to the constitutionality of the provisional Government by the Minister of Mexico in London, who has now been removed, and that the British Government will soon recognize this Government."

"On his own part he added his regret that his telegram of congratulation to Secretary of State Bryan had received no reply."

"Among diplomats here there is a general inquiry as to when we intend to produce immediate peace through-out this Government. I shall be glad to be instructed if the Department desires any further expression of view from me on this point."

Government by platitudes first breaks out in a message by Secretary Bryan in which he sagely directs the Ambassador to inform the Government of Mexico, which was fast beating down the few remaining outlaws by force of arms, that "disagreements generally arise from misunderstandings."

The Mexicans were gravely presented with this aphorism, but strangely enough the information did not produce immediate peace throughout the land. Ambassador Wilson communicated certain advice regarding the Consuls of the United States who were aiding the rebels and also inquired what was being done in the way of recognition. This was Mr. Bryan's reply:

"The Department believes that Hostetter's telegram to you of March 6 deserves your serious consideration. Informally and unofficially you will advise all officials who make inquiry that the Government of the United States is deeply interested in the restoration of peace to the end that law and order may be enforced, that order may be preserved, and that protection may be given to the rights of Americans."

Furthermore, you may suggest that as disagreements generally arise from misunderstandings or from conflicting interests it is wise to remove misunderstandings whenever possible by conference and to remove conflicting interests by mutual concessions where such concessions do not involve an abandonment of sound principles or a surrender of rights. You will, without any interference on the part of this Government in the affairs of our sister republic, exercise such influence as may properly be employed to bring about, on a basis of justice to all at home and abroad, cooperation between the various elements."

Mr. Bryan, being pressed for some statement of the Administration's policy concerning recognition, responded vaguely, but stated that the matter of claims must be settled by a high commission.

"At this time," said Mr. Wilson, "the Administration was evidently marking time. They did not quite know what they had best do except that whatever was done must express disapproval of everything which had gone before. This was the controlling thought."

Again Ambassador Wilson asked for instructions in connection with a telegram from London stating that the British Government had recognized Huerta. Secretary Bryan did not answer the request, but instead sent down an excerpt from an address made by President Wilson. This excerpt was a characteristic statement of popular principles of idealistic government, but without the remotest bearing upon the Mexican situation. Upon these instructions Ambassador Wilson was expected to treat with President Huerta. All of this had already been published in the newspapers of the United States and Mexico.

"Immediately following the receipt of this message," said Mr. Wilson, "President Huerta gained some information indicating that President Wilson was not inclined to recognize the established Mexican Government. The various opponents of Huerta were encouraged to increase their revolutionary activities. It was generally agreed that no stable Government could exist without the recognition of the United States. The foreign Governments held back because of the failure of the United States to act, and Huerta found trouble in completing his plans for the borrowing of money to finance the national obligations."

"I noticed the change in attitude of the Mexican Government, and after a frank talk with President Huerta it was agreed that all the major questions which had prevented the recognition by Secretary Knox should be settled upon the basis proposed by the United States. This cleared out every diplomatic obstacle in the way of recognition, and I forcibly urged Washington to take action."

Here are the messages sent to Washington by Ambassador Wilson:

"To-day, accompanied by Mr. de la Barra, provisional President Huerta visited the embassy and made certain statements to me which were later given to me by Mr. de la Barra in the form of a memorandum. De la Barra stated his intention of giving this to the press as expressing the object of their visits. The statement follows:

"President Huerta, having been interviewed as he was leaving the American Embassy, concerning the object of his visit, stated that he had the following purposes in making his call:

"First, to reiterate the sentiments of amity which unite his Government and the people of his country with the Government of the United States of America, and the people of that great republic."

"Second, to reiterate what he has said to the American Embassy through the Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning the purpose of the Government of Mexico to contribute the sentiments of amity and friendship and according to the principles of the United States toward a settlement of questions pending between the two countries at the earliest possible moment."

"Third, to express the gratification with which the Government has witnessed the efforts of Ambassador Wilson, which have efficiently enhanced greater cordiality between the two countries, according to their respective interests, and for the prudent and impartial use of his good offices during the difficult circumstances recently experienced by Mexico in which he was actuated by humane sentiments."

"Mr. de la Barra said in the conversation which occurred that tomorrow he would hand me the memorandum definitely concluding our questions now pending in a way which he thought would be satisfactory. He then agreed to give me the memorandum to-day after I asked if he could not do so. To-morrow it will probably be received by the Department, and I suggest that a reply be made as promptly as compatible with proper consideration of the matters."

"Wilson."

Ambassador Wilson Reveals How Bryan Shifted From Hot to Cold, Hampering Huerta's Efforts to Organize Stable Government—Envoys Increased Muddle

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"As soon as compatible with the careful study of the De la Barra note I think I should have the Department's acceptance of the principles of the United States toward a settlement of questions pending between the two countries at the earliest possible moment."

"Another solution than that insisted upon by the Department has been proposed by Mr. de la Barra in the matter of the revolution. This Government is apparently thoroughly earnest about the settlement of these claims, and it might be well for the Department, if impressed as I am with the seriousness of the Mexican Government's intention, to consider the relaxation of its adherence to the international commission plan. Wilson."

These despatches were dated March 17 and 18. On March 26 Ambassador Wilson tried to stir up the State Department in the matter of answering his request for instructions.

Ambassador Wilson had waited from March 18 until March 30 without a word from Washington. The Mexican Government had acceded to every demand, but at a word could be sent from Secretary Bryan, the Mexican Government were waiting their answer. The foreign Governments were waiting an answer and in the meantime the revolutionaries were gaining courage.

"If I could have received a word from Washington at this time," said Mr. Wilson, "the whole Mexican situation might then and there have been settled, all outstanding differences adjusted and it would have been only a matter of days before the claims for loss of life and property during the Madero rule would have been settled. The delay of President Wilson meant the loss of millions of dollars to the Government and the United States and to the investors in Mexico."

"I am absolutely convinced that if I was then, that prompt action on the part of the United States would have saved all the endless trouble and which we will probably continue to have. Mexico as a nation was sacrificed by President Wilson in those weeks of inaction."

Ambassador Wilson continued to press for an answer. In particular on March 31 he telegraphed:

"The British Minister stated in the meeting referred to in my telegram that undoubtedly his Government would recognize the provisional Mexican Government as the de jure Government when the provisional President's autograph letter was received by the King. If it is the desire of the Government to recognize, the De-

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